



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

THE SCHOOL REVIEW

A JOURNAL OF SECONDARY EDUCATION

VOLUME XXIII

SEPTEMBER 1915

NUMBER 7

THE ENGLISH PARISH AND EDUCATION AT THE BEGINNING OF AMERICAN COLONIZATION¹

CARL RUSSELL FISK
University of Wisconsin

Many of the Englishmen who came to America in the first half of the seventeenth century were personally familiar with the rural economy of the manor. Some had been members of the old city companies, some of the newly rising stock companies, and a few had taken part in borough or county government. All of them had belonged to some parish, and while there was a very great diversity in the form of parish government, to belong to a parish meant nearly everywhere to take part in its activities.

The Complete Parish Officer, as late as 1772, described the vestry as the assembly of the whole parish. Of course the "whole parish" did not include every inhabitant in the modern sense, but it was broad enough to bring in most of those who played any prominent part in setting up the institutions of the New World.² In 1772 this description was in general only technically true, and the vestry actually consisted in most cases of a few gentlemen

¹ The notes upon which this study is based were for the most part gathered in England during 1903. In addition to the material, printed and manuscript, in the British Museum, many manuscript parish records of the eastern counties were examined. The results were so incomplete for the purpose intended that nothing was done with them. This article is offered, not as in any way exhaustive, but merely as suggestive and illustrative.

² *The Complete Parish Officer*, London, 1772 (16th ed.), p. 174.

who filled their own vacancies. There is, however, abundant evidence that at the time of the migration it represented a living fact. Thus the *Record Book of Parish Proceedings* of St. Margarets, Lothbury, opens in 1571: "Ordinances mad by the hole consent of the parishiners."¹ In 1583 the churchwardens' accounts of Lindfield contain the item: "The whole p'ishe hathe consented, and the chefest in the name of the rest, whose names are under written to make a Landscott for a rep'acions of the Church."² In 1599, at Houghton-le-Spring, "it was agreed by the gentlemen and the XXIIIj of this parish."³

The business for which the whole parish was called upon to act was sometimes the raising of a rate, as at Lindfield,⁴ or at Kirton-Lindsay, in Lincoln, where in 1557 "yt was agreed by hole bodye of the paryshe to give for every plough i peck of peas and for every plough i bundell of barlye to be sowne to the common use of the town."⁵ Such rate-raising, however, seems to have been only occasional, and the chief business of the parish meeting was the election of officers.

The most important of these were the two wardens. The "London custom" at this time was for the parish to choose one one year, and one the next.⁶ While the consent of the rector or vicar was apparently necessary, and differences of method existed, it seems that at this period such election at parish meeting was general. As in the case of some New England town offices, refusal to serve sometimes was the occasion of a fine.⁷ Other officers

¹ *The Vestry Minute Books of Saint Margaret Lothbury* (edited by Edwin Freshfield, London, 1887), I.

² Sussex Archeological Society, *Collections*, XIX, 40.

³ Surtees Society, *Publications*, LXXXIV, 276; see also *History of the Church and Manor of Wigan*, Cheltham Society, N.S., XVI, 275.

⁴ Sussex Archeological Society, *Collections*, XIX, 40.

⁵ Society of Antiquaries, *Proceedings*, 2d Ser., II, 386.

⁶ *Saint Margaret Lothbury*, XVII; see also *Archeologia*, L, 48-52 (St. Stephens London, John Davenport's parish).

⁷ Thomas North, *The Accounts of the Churchwardens of Saint Martins Leicester* (Leicester, 1884), p. 121; see also *Accounts of the Churchwardens of the Parish of Saint Michael Cornhill . . . from 1456-1608* (edited by W. H. Overall, London, 1871), pp. 200-206 (1504).

were also properly chosen by the parish, as the Sidesmen.¹ The most important elections, however, at the time the first American colonists were growing up, were not of officers, but of a committee. In Morebath, as early as 1527, "the four," or "the five," or "the nine" were "chosen to govern the parish in all causes concerning the wealth of the church."² As the *Complete Parish Officer* says: "In large populous parishes a custom has obtained of yearly chusing a certain number of the chieftest and most reputable men to represent the rest."³ This number was often twenty-four,⁴ sometimes twelve,⁵ sometimes six.⁵

These committees or "select vestries," with their general representative functions, resembling so exactly those of the selectmen of the New England town, were destined to absorb the powers of the whole parish and to exclude the remainder of the parishioners from all participation in affairs. In fact parish organization was, after 1615, the subject of much discussion. In 1637 a questionnaire of ten pages concerning the powers of parishes was sent out to the Justices of the Peace.⁶ In 1636 the parish of St. Peters at Ipswich paid ten shillings to counsel "to be advised . . . whether a parrish paying tyethes in kinde could be compelled to make a rate or not."⁷ The central authorities seem to have favored the transition to the less popular system. In 1619 a document, said to be by order of the Bishop of London, was read to the parish meeting of St. Alphage, London Wall, directing the

¹ *The Complete Parish Officer*, pp. 137; but by 1772 provision was made for a failure of the parish to choose.

² Rt. Rev. Bishop Hobhouse, *Church Wardens Accounts, of Croscomb, Pilton, Patton, Tuinhull, Morebath, and St. Michaels, Bath, 1349-1560*, Somerset Record Society, 1890, XVIII.

³ *Complete Parish Officer*, p. 174.

⁴ For instance at Houghton-le-Spring, 1599-1658, Surtees Society, *Publications*, LXXXIV, 276-323; *Materials for the History of the Church of Lancaster*, Chetham Society, LVIII, 60; LXXXIV, 276-223.

⁵ *The Church Wardens Accounts of St. Michael in Bedwardine, Worcester* (edited by John Amphlett, Oxford, 1896), p. 157 (1599); Surtees Society, *Publications*, LXXXIV, 27 (parish of Pitlington, 1588).

⁶ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, XXLV, No. 46.

⁷ *Church-wardens accounts of St. Peters, Ipswich*, MSS, Add. MSS, Brit. Mus., No. 25344, f. 74.

election of "twenty-four inhabitants who together with the Parson and church wardens and noe more," are to form a select vestry, as "this meeting" has become "noisy and ill-conducted."¹ This direction, however, apparently was not followed,² and in general during this period open parish meetings freely electing "assistants" or "select vestries" seem to have been the rule.³

As the parish organization had important resemblances to that of the New England town, so did its functions. Not that they were by any means as extensive. In England the clergyman, the head of the parish, came by the dispensation, if not of heaven, at least, except where the feoffee system had brought emancipation,⁴ by that of outside forces, supposed to be its representatives. His support was derived from tithes that seemed of geologic permanence. The parish did not possess, as did the New England town, resources of unused land. It was nearly always totally apart, as the New England town was not for many years, from the agricultural system. It was not generally responsible for roads and bridges. It inherited in most cases the plant of its main business, religion, in the church, parsonage, and attendant necessities. Yet enough remained to excite a reasonable concern among those charged with its affairs.

The day of providing elaborate vestments and jeweled chalices⁵ had passed away long before, but that of Morris plays, on the expense side,⁶ and of the sale of church bread and ale on that of income,⁷ vanished within the memory of the first colonists. If

¹ G. B. Hall, *Records of St. Alphage, London Wall* (London, 1882), p. 51.

² *Ibid.*

³ See also E. Channing, *A Few Remarks on the Origin of the England Town*, Mass. Hist. Soc., *Proceedings*, January, 1892, 2d Ser., VII, 242-63.

⁴ S. R. Gardiner, *History of England*, VII, 258.

⁵ *Accounts of Saint Michael Cornhill*, pp. 200-206.

⁶ J. H. Matthews, *History of the Parishes of St. Ives, Lelant, Towednack and Zennor* (London, 1892), p. 146 (1573).

⁷ Sir R. C. Hoare, *History of Wiltshire* (London, 1822), pp. 21, church-wardens' accounts of Mere; profit 1605, L 15 6 s.; 1606, L 20; 1607, L 23 6 s.; then disappears; *The Monthly Magazine or British Register*, 1810, pp. 458-62, *A Transcript of the Parish Expenditures of Milton-Abbot, for the year, 1588*, reprinted by Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, Literature, and Art, *Transactions*, XI, 213-55.

the parish had a "vicar" instead of a "rector," it was responsible for "delapidations," and entries for repairs are numerous.¹ It had a responsibility of declining importance, for equipping one or more soldiers,² and was often possessed of a ladder and other fire apparatus.³ It sometimes engaged in agricultural pursuits,⁴ though this custom was passing. It made occasional payments to charitable objects; "poor ministers," "souldiers," "Irishmen," "women," "children"; a "Turke being made Xian"; for the ransom of a sailor; for a merchant who had lost money by indorsements"; "to a man going to New England, 31" (1640); "to a poor man and his wife that came out of New England being in great want 158*d*." (1641-42); "to a gretian by the consent of Mr. Bendish"; "to a pore man that hadd the quanes brod selae y^t did not gather in the church;" to the traveler the XVjjth day of May that was taken with Dunkerkes iiij*d*." The parish also dealt with certain kinds of discipline. At Halifax in 1620 trouble arose over a wife who insisted on sitting with her husband on the men's side.⁵ In the same parish in 1623, a man was fined for unseemly speech in vestry.⁶ At St. Margarets, Lothbury, in 1592, Mr. Cox was told to get rid of the woman who served him and of whom the vestry was suspicious.⁷

¹ Hall, *St. Alphage*, p. 31 (1609); Shropshire Archeological and Natural History Society, *Transactions*, II, 117; Rev. J. C. Cox, and W. H. St. J. Hope, *The Chronicles of the Collegiate Church or Free Chapel of All Saints, Derby* (London, 1881), p. 179.

² *Minutes of Vestry Meetings of Saint Christopher Le Stocks* (edited by Edwin Freshfield, London, 1886), p. 12 (1585), p. 21 (1600); also *Archeologia*, XXXVI, 234, extract from the churchwardens' accounts of the parish of Wing, Buckinghamshire (1560); and many other references.

³ Cox and Hope, *All Saints, Derby*, p. 179 (1632): "A Ladder given by Mrs. Stringer widowe . . . being of firr and containing 36 staves," "j firre poule given by Mr. Luke Whittinge to the parish . . . that is made a hooke." "The mind of the donor is that this ladder should not be lent to any but upon occation of fire. The cost 5*s*. 2*d*."; T. North, *St. Martins, Leicester*, p. 8 (1544-48): "for a ladder for the church, X j*d*."; 17 (1545-46), "Itm to jjjj m*e* for bryngenge the great leder"; *St. Christopher Le Stocks*, p. 44 (1609): mention of 4 ladders and 24 leathern bucketts; Shropshire Archeological and Natural History Society, *Transactions*, II, 112.

⁴ See *Midland Antiquary*, I, 36, churchwardens' accounts of Badsey, Worcester, 1555: "It o'payyed for ye wy'tyng of ye bulle, Vjj*d*."

⁵ Hall, *Saint Alphage*, p. 31.

⁶ *Ibid*.

⁷ *Saint Margaret Lothbury*, XIII.

The income which the parish applied to these objects was derived from many sources: from the rent of property;¹ from such business enterprises as have been mentioned, as bread- and ale-making and agricultural undertakings; from fees, and from fines. It was becoming more customary, however, though it had long been a practice, to raise sums by a rate or tax levy. Thus in 1585 St. Christopher Le Stocks raised a rate for a suit for the soldier;² in 1601-2 the warden of St. Martins, Leicester, "receaved of the leavie that was made the XXViith day of July to paye Certain debts that the p'ish was in Viiiil xs. v jd."³ In 1654 the same parish agreed that the lands of the inhabitants be taxed "for setting the poor on work," "for the relief of the impotent," and for "putting forth apprentices."⁴ This latter tax must not be confused with the regular poor rate which, after 1601, was imposed under national direction and did not pass through the hands of the parish organization we are considering.

This law of 1601, establishing in each parish a separate organization to take over a work so constant and so important as that of the relief of the poor, did much to preserve the importance of the parish as an administrative unit, but it was also doubtless one of the causes for the gradual atrophy of the popular elements in the older organization. It will be noticed that the activities of the regular parish authorities while numerous were becoming less important and of less popular interest than they had been. Few of its business enterprises survived far into the seventeenth century, and with the rise of Puritanism the church was becoming less and less a social center for the amusements of its people, and was tending to become more absorbed in its purely ecclesiastical duties and occasional charities. Enough memory of older activities remained to make a similar organization, reinforced as it was

¹ *Archeologia*, XXXV, 413, churchwardens' accounts of Minchinhampton, Gloucester; Historical MSS Commission (Great Britain), 3d Report, pp. 331-32; Shropshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc., *Transactions*, II, 110; A. G. Legge, *Ancient Churchwardens Accounts in the Parish of North Elmham, from A.D. 1539 to A.D. 1577* (Norwich, 1891), pp. 9, 11.

² *Saint Christopher Le Stocks*, p. 12.

³ North, *Saint Martins Leicester*, 144.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 205; see also Hobhouse, *Churchwardens Accounts*, XV.

by the analogy of the popular stock companies, seem familiar to the first New Englanders, who added to its duties those of the less popular manorial organization, and, under favoring geographical conditions, some of the functions of the more aristocratically governed counties. In England, however, the popular system of parish government seemed doomed alike by pressure from above and by lack of vital interest to hold the attention of the people. In this situation there remained one factor that might possibly have infused it with new life—the control of education.

The period of the rise of Protestantism was at least synchronous with an increasing interest in the education of the common people. Considering the close connection between Scotch Protestant thought and that of the founders of New England, it is not too far afield to observe the educational movements in that country. In 1560 the first book of discipline of the Reformed Church discussed the "necessitie of Schools"; every kirk should have one schoolmaster able to teach grammar and the Latin tongue "if the town be of any reputation"; "if it be upland" the reader or minister must "take care of the children and youth of the parish, to instruct them in the first rudiments," and the education of the poor was to be provided for.¹ In 1616 the Privy Council issued a decree that was ratified by Parliament in 1633, that the bishops, with the assent of the freeholders, might impose a local Cury for education. On December 17 and 18, 1638, four years before the famous Massachusetts law, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland resolved: "Anent the planting of Schools in Landward, the want thereof doth greatly prejudice the growth of the Gospel, and procure the decay of Religion: the Assembly giveth direction to the several Presbyteries for the settling of Schools in every landward parochin, and providing of men able for the charge of teaching of the youth, publick reading and precenting of the Psalme, and cataching of the common people, and that means be provided for their entertainment, in the most convenient manner that may be had, according to the abilitie of the Parochin."²

¹ Lord John Russell, *Letter on the Parochial Schools of Scotland* (London, 1854).

² The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, *The Principal Acts*, Edinburgh, 1639.

This ideal was not recognized by the Scotch Parliament until 1696,¹ but it was a notable declaration of intention.

A "Project of the Plantation of Ulster" of 1606, in the Carew MSS, includes provision for a college at Dublin,² and some separate suggestions without date in the same hand run: "to plant husbandry, and every man that keeps 20 cows to keep a plough land, to plant artificers and markets, to plant schoolmasters in every parish for the first elements, in every country or borough for further learning of the sciences, and an ordinance for every noble and gentleman to put their children to learning."³ James I wrote St. John, February 26, 1620 that, "a competent portion of land for the maintenance of free schools in every county" of Ulster was to be provided "before natives and undertakers."⁴

In England there was interest in education. In 1542 Bonner, bishop of London, enjoined "every of you that be parsons, vicars, curates, and also chantry priests and stipendiaries to . . . teach and bring up in learning the best ye can all such children of your parishioners as shall come to you, or at the least teach them to read English." In 1563, "all schoolmasters and public and private teachers of children," were required to take the oath of allegiance. All schoolmasters were expected to have licenses from their bishops. In 1597 parliamentary supervision was suggested in a bill "for establishing of good Orders in Grammar Schools," but it was rejected.⁵ Nor did the leaders of centralization under Charles I overlook the subject. Strafford wrote on March 11, 1633, that "there are not many men, which deserve better or worse of the State than the Schoolmasters," and that severity was needed to

¹ Rev. W. W. Hetherington, *History of the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1842), p. 304; see also *Laws and Acts made in the Sixth Session of the First Parliament of William [III]*, October 9, 1696.

² Carew MSS, Brit. Mus., volume for 1606, pp. 13-22.

³ *Ibid.*, volume for 1603-1624, pp. 452 ff.; see also *Calendar of State Papers, Irish Series*, 1603-6, p. 590; 1606-8, p. 286; 1611-14, pp. 296-97, 467-68; 1615-25, pp. 47, 200-201, 276, 306-12, 314, 346-47, 418-19, 501, 591.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1615-25, p. 276.

⁵ D'Ewes, *Journal of the House of Commons*, December 11, 1597; also *Enc. Brit.*, XXIV (1911), 368-71.

turn out the inefficient.¹ For Ireland he proposed a commission on the subject.² On April 30, 1633, Laud wrote Strafford to send to London for trial Christopher Sands who taught an English school in Londonderry, "as he is a Jew and denies Christ."³ In 1657 Laud reported to the king: "At Biddenden I have suspended Richard Warren y^e School Master for refusing the Oath Besides this precise man will read of nothing but Divinity to his Schollars, noe not soe much as ye Grammar rules, unless Mars, Bacchus, Apollo, maybe blotted out."⁴ Licenses and oaths, however, have never proved sufficient of themselves for the efficient control of a country-wide institution, and the bishops were too busy with other matters to follow up the schools. The purpose of both license and oath, moreover, was almost wholly to secure religious orthodoxy, and not to provide for education or to regulate its general content or method. The various rulers did something by the establishment of schools, but these were occasional and scattered benefits, and belong rather to the category of private benefactions than of governmental provisions. In fact neither Parliament nor the Crown devised any systematic organization for the general support or supervision of education. The task was left to the care of individuals and of local governing bodies.

How much private benefaction did toward a solution of the problem may be seen in the successive reports of the commissioners, whose appointment was provided for by Lord Brougham's bill of 1816: "to inquire concerning charities in England for the education of the Poor." These reports, continuing for twenty years and running to over thirty volumes,⁵ are a constant illustration of the wonderful diversity of schemes which English individuality can devise when left to run wild, but they are equally impressive for revealing the multitude of the endowments founded in the

¹ Thomas, Earl of Strafford, *Letters and Dispatches* (W. Knowler, London, 1739), I, 212-14 (of Ireland); see also I, 188, January 31, 1633.

² *Ibid.*, I, 188, January 31, 1633.

³ *Ibid.*, I, 82.

⁴ Harlean MSS No. 787, Brit. Mus., f. 21.

⁵ These reports give the history and existing conditions of every such charity, parish by parish, county by county. They are admitted as *prima facie* evidence by the Charitable Trusts Act of 1891.

sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and the wide area that they covered. Particularly noticeable is the liberality of the great city companies of London, the Mercers, the Grocers, the Girdlers, the Brewers, the Cloth-workers, the Skinners, the Goldsmiths, the Merchant Tailors, all of which appear as founders of schools.

This stream of private munificence did not, however, serve of itself to meet the need. It was unequally distributed geographically, and it tended to multiply secondary, grammar, or Latin schools, rather than those for the elements.

Local responsibility still remained, and in many cases was stimulated by the gifts. In nearly every instance the parish was the unit to which its gift applied, or if more than one parish was to be benefited it was in a fixed proportion. In some instances, moreover, the endowment was the result of collective local effort,¹ that kind of extra-legal co-operation which had developed the local sense of responsibility in the case of the poor law, and so paved the way for the compulsory rating of 1601, and which has of recent years resulted in the grafting of so many new branches of expenditure upon the public purse.

More important, the administration of the gifts was often thrown upon the authorities of the parish. In 1560, the corporation of the grammar school of Sevenoaks, in Kent, consisted of "the Warden and Four assistants."² In 1616 the "Skinners" provided twenty pounds for a schoolmaster at Hackney, in Middlesex, to be appointed by the vicar, churchwardens, and twelve substantial householders.³ In 1532 a free school was given for Horsham, in Sussex, to be managed by the executors, vicar, churchwardens, and "four of the most honest men in the parish indifferently chosen by the inhabitants."⁴ In 1612 the Commis-

¹ For instance, at Godmanchester in 1561 the schoolroom was built by subscriptions (24 *Ed. Rept.* 1831, 96); at Southwark in 1571 "the inhabitants of the parish of St. Olave . . . had lately erected . . . one grammar school for younglings as well . . . the rich as the poor" (1 *Ed. Rept.* 1818, 207); at Dorchester, 1565-1618, townsmen built the schoolhouse, "inhabitants" by contributions repaired it, a citizen gave a dwelling for the schoolmaster, and a contribution at church supplied additional land (29 *Ed. Rept.* 1835; also *Enc. Brit.* [1911], XXIV, 372).

² 1 *Ed. Rept.* 1818, 140.

³ 2 *Ed. Rept.* 1819.

⁴ 2 *Ed. Rept.* 1819, 167; also 4 *Ed. Rept.* 1820, 239.

sion on Charitable Uses assigned certain funds "for the benefit of the poor and poor children of [Hanwell, Middlesex] . . . at the discretion of the feofees and parish officers."¹ In 1637 the "Grocers" provided twelve pence a week each for poor children of Acton, Middlesex, to learn English, which was to be managed by the minister and churchwardens.²

In the case of elementary schools private initiative from economic motives was more important than that from charity alone. Though most schools were "free," this freedom meant merely that they were open without distinction to all who complied with their conditions. In practically all schools, high and low, fees were charged. In many of those which were endowed, to be sure, free instruction and sometimes maintenance was provided for a fixed number of "poor children," but from the greater proportion of pupils payment was exacted. These fees were sufficient in most of the more important parishes to induce schoolmasters to set up elementary schools, and in the smaller ones to console the vicar for undertaking the task. Sometimes a curate, or a clerk, or the vicar's reader served as schoolmaster. In such cases, however, as in the case of the endowed institution, the parish authorities very often became involved.

Here and there the school was a source of profit to the parish. The school was nearly always held in some parish building, and occasionally paid rent, as at Ashburton where, in 1573, the minister paid "Xs iii d for the occupation of the church house . . . for the keeping of scule there."³ At Hempstead from 1599 to 1617 the "Schollmaster," or "scoolmayst and usher," "paid towards the Towllinge of the Schollers Bell."⁴

This was, however, exceptional, and the parish generally furnished the schoolroom free, and often at some expense to itself. In many cases the school was held in the church building. As late

¹ 2 *Ed. Rept.* 1819, 100.

² 9 *Ed. Rept.* 1823, 281.

³ *The Parish of Ashburton in the 15th and 16th Centuries; as it appears from extracts from the Churchwardens accounts, A.D. (1479-1580)* (edited by J. H. Butcher, London, 1870), p. 45.

⁴ *Church Accounts, Hempstead, Hertshire*, Brit. Mus. Add. MSS No. 18773; see also Leicestershire Architectural and Archeological Society, *Transactions*, III, 188 (1557-58).

as 1651 the churchwarden's accounts of Minchinhampton, in Gloucester, contain the item: "for stones and making the chimnie in the chansell for the scoole, 6 s. 3 d."¹ In 1593, the records of St. Margarets, Lothbury, read: "and att this vestry Mr Edwarde Rogers moved the parrishe to have his skollers in our Church and thare kepe his skoole in the hootte weather for the bettar keping of his said scollars in good order, which was granted him by order of this vestry, and to endewer so long as the parrishenors shall think good and y^t the said scollars do kepe be kept in good order," Mr. Rogers to pay for breakage and for a "clark to clean the church."² The frequent bills for "glassing" indicate that such a provident arrangement was not always made.³ Sometimes the school was held in the vicarage.⁴ At Ashburton it was held in a chapel formerly used as a chantry;⁵ at St. Michaels, Bishop, Stortford, apparently in a loft over the barley market.⁶ The "dore where the scollers sit" opened in 1631 at St. Martins, Leicester,⁷ was possibly for Sunday use only, as the schoolmaster was expected to bring them to the parish service.⁸

The convenience of a separate schoolhouse was, however, appreciated and by one means or another the parishes were gradually equipping themselves with them. Between 1500 and 1521 the churchwardens of Wigloft, in Lincoln, spent money for the improvement and repair of the schoolhouse, although they received

¹ *Archeologia*, XXXV, 446.

² *Saint Margaret Lothbury*, XVII.

³ James Stockdale, *Annals Caermodenses* (Ulverston, 1872), p. 46, etc.

⁴ Oxford Historical Society, *History of Kidlington, Yarnton and Begbroke*, p. 250 (time of Charles I).

⁵ *Ashburton*, p. 39; see also 3 *Ed. Rept.* 1820, 182 (1644).

⁶ J. S. Glasscock, *The Records of St. Michaels Parish Church, Bishop's Stortford* (London, 1882), pp. 40 (1531), 57 (1571), 58 (1578), 66 (1592); it seems possible that here the school was kept first by the "Scryvener" and then by the "clerk."

⁷ John Nichols, *History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester* (London, 1782-1811), 1632; *St. Martins Leicester*, p. 183.

⁸ *Articles of Inquirie, Given in charge by the Right Reverend Father in God, Henrie (Cotton) By the providence of Almighty God Bishop of Sarum, to be answered unto by way of presentment upon oath by the churchwardens and Sidesmen of each parish and chapell . . .* (London, 1614), item 51.

no rent for it.¹ In 1562 the borough of Alington, in Berkshire, in consideration of fifty pounds from John Royse, agreed to build a schoolhouse to be used forever as a free grammar school, the fabric to be maintained by them, and the schoolmaster to be chosen by the mayor and the principal burgesses.² In 1571 when certain inhabitants of Southwark erected a school in the parish of St. Olave, the land was purchased by the parishioners.³ In 1573 the churchwardens of Yeovil, in Somercet, spent £12 13s. 4d. for making over a building which had been a chapel, into a schoolhouse.⁴ In 1624 the inhabitants of Cartmel purchased a strong and convenient building of Mr. Preston for thirty pounds to be used as a public school, the school having formerly been in the church.⁵ In 1624 a school costing one hundred pounds was erected in Holy Trinity Parish by the benevolence of the inhabitants of Dorchester, to be managed by the corporation.⁶ In 1628 "the principal men, inhabitants of the said town" of Eversholt, in Dorset, promised, on receipt of an endowment to an elementary school in which poor pupils should be taught freely, to grant the use of the "town-house or church-house for the use of the school-house."⁷ In 1632 Hempstead voted 10 s. "for making a new stile by the Schule-house."⁸ At Eltham, the parish built a schoolhouse in 1635.⁹ In the Hundred of Ishworth in the parish of Twickenham, Middlesex, there was in 1648 a schoolhouse which was kept in repair by the parish and used rent-free.¹⁰ It seems in fact to have been regarded as primarily the duty of the local community to furnish the seat of learning while

¹ John Nichols, *Illustrations of the Manners and Expenses of Ancient Times in England* (London, 1797), extract from the churchwardens' accounts of Wigloft, Lincoln, pp. 197-212.

² 2 *Ed. Rept.* 1819, 5-11.

³ 2 *Ed. Rept.* 1819, 207; see also 1 *Ed. Rept.* 1818, 97.

⁴ 4 *Ed. Rept.* 1820, 325.

⁵ Stockdale, *Annals Caemodenses*, p. 53.

⁶ 2a, *Ed. Rept.* 1835, 15; see also *Cratfield: a transcript of the accounts of the parish, from 1490 to A.D. 1642* (notes by Rev. W. Holland, etc., edited by J. J. Raven), p. 152.

⁷ 31 *Ed. Rept.* 1837, 170.

⁸ *Churchwardens Accounts, Hampsted*, Brit. Mus. Add. MSS No. 18773.

⁹ Rev. Daniel Lyons, *The Environs of London*, etc. (London, 1792), p. 417.

¹⁰ 8 *Ed. Rept.* 1822, 395.

others provided the means. In 1598 a benefactor at Hingham, in Somerset, gave a sum for the encouragement of a schoolmaster "to instruct the poor children of the parish," and the parish provided the house.¹ In 1609 a similar arrangement was made at Lancton, Yorkshire.² At Uxbridge, in Middlesex, a bequest of twenty marks in 1570, on condition that the town erect within the year a schoolhouse and provide additional endowment, failed to produce action on the part of the town.³

The schoolhouse did not solve all problems. In 1640 the Commissioners of Charitable Uses found that no schoolmaster would undertake the teaching of poor children at Haskingfield, in Cambridgeshire, unless some certain allowance might be assured him;⁴ and this was a condition that often existed. A second problem was that of poor children "whose parents were not able to breed them up to school by means of poverty," of whom we find record in almost every parish. Where private charity failed to provide for these emergencies, the joint responsibility was beginning here and there to be felt. St. Michael, Cornhill, in 1569, paid Robert Morcocke who taught "chyldeyrne" "for his hole yeres wages, x1 s.," and "to the Clarke y^t teacheth chylidren, x s."⁵ In 1561 at Cratfield, the "skollemaster was paid 40 s"⁶; in 1578 he was paid "for ease of some pore menes chylidren."⁶ Smarden churchwardens in 1550 paid the schoolmaster 20 s., and in 1552 "fyrst paid to the Skollmaster ffor his wags which were promised to hym for teching of chyllidrun," 20 s.; but this payment was discontinued after 1553, perhaps because of the great expense of securing church ornaments called for under the restoration of the Roman rite,⁷ which occupies much space in the books of this and other parishes at the time. At Ashburton in 1561 "xiii s iiiii d" were paid "to the master of the children in the chapell."⁸ At Willingham, Cambridgeshire, in 1593, certain inhabitants of the

¹ 11 *Ed. Rept.* 1824, 489.

³ 9 *Ed. Rept.* 1823, 218.

² *Ibid.*

⁴ 31 *Ed. Rept.* 1837, 193.

⁵ *Accounts of Saint Michael Cornhill*, pp. 66-77. Mr. Morcocke, however, paid rent for a chamber, pp. 80-103.

⁶ *Cratfield*, pp. 92, 103.

⁷ *Archeologia Cantiana*, IX, 228.

⁸ *Ashburton*.

parish raised 158 pounds for a parochial school, to be managed by the parson and six men. Only children of contributors were to be admitted, but the contribution list was open, and exception was made in the care of poor children, who were to be freely taught.¹ In 1602 St. Bartholemews Exchange solved the difficulty in another way, by paying the "pettye schulemaster of Christs Hospital" for the instruction of poor children. At St. Mary Woolworth, in 1616, five shillings were paid to the "scole mistress."² In 1629 the "Bishop of Bristol granted permission for building the shops at the West end of the church of the Holy Trinity, Dorchester, "for the use of the poor for the training up of Children in the English tongue."³ In 1636 such expenses ran to over twenty pounds.⁴ In 1636 the churchwardens and the twenty-four at Cartmel ordered "that Christopher Barrow come to teach school at the ancient wages"; in 1655 and 1657, that the schoolmasters have the register's place, in all 20 pounds, or if he need an usher, the latter was to be register, and the schoolmaster's salary was to be made up by payments assessed by the twenty-four.⁵

Less important, but still showing an interest in education on the part of the parish, are such items as the following: at Leverton in 1565, 2 shillings were given "to a pore Scoller of Oxford that had a lysence in the way of exhibition ii s.";⁶ in 1572 "to a pore scholar of Tattesall vj d"; "to a poor scholar of Oxford iii s iii d."⁷ In 1595 the churchwardens of St. Margarets, Westminster, gave "John Crevenne, alias Lute, a poor skolar born in this parish, after a sermon by him made in this church, by consent of such of the vestry as were present at that sermon," one pound.⁸

¹ 31 *Ed. Rept.* 1837, 259.

² *Saint Mary Woolworth*, XXXI; schoolmistresses were buried in 1612 and 1625, pp. 218, 214.

³ 29 *Ed. Rept.* 1835, 15.

⁴ *The Account Books of the Parish of Saint Bartholemew Exchange* (edited by Edwin Freshfield, London, 1897), pp. 20, 35, 105.

⁵ James, Stockdale, *Annals Caermoelesenses*, pp. 58, 60, 63, 85, 86.

⁶ *Archeologia*, XII, 363.

⁷ *Ashburton*, pp. 42, 49.

⁸ Nichols, *Illustrations of Manners*, p. 24.

In the absence of national control, it is apparent that there was no such thing as a system of educational support in England at the time of the American migration. Secondary schools were sustained in larger measure by endowment than by any other means. Elementary schools were primarily dependent upon the scholars' fees. This individual effort was supplemented, however, by the various local authorities, the borough,¹ the towns (sometimes separate from, sometimes identical with, the parish),² the lord of the manor,³ the overseers of the poor,⁴ the justices,⁵ and the authorities, officers, or inhabitants of the parish, as well as by private corporations such as the great London companies. This complication of support was balanced by a similar complication in control. It was the parish, however, which was most frequently and closely connected with elementary education. If the fees were not sufficient to encourage a schoolmaster to settle, the vicar, the curate, the clerk, or some other officer was on the spot, mainly supported by his other occupation, to fill the gap in return for a sum which, if not sufficient to live upon, was not unwelcome as an addition to his income. Doubtless many vicars received the parish poor children without fee. The school was nearly always in a parish building, and the responsibility for providing a meeting-place for it was generally recognized as a parish duty.

Probably the statesmen of England were correct in judging that the sense of community responsibility for the education of the poor

¹ See 31 *Ed. Rept.* 1837, Town of Wisbeck (Edward VI); also 2d *Ed. Rept.* 1835, 15.

² Terms sometimes used interchangeably, as limits were generally coterminous, though more than one parish might lie in a town or vice versa, but the "town of Maidenhead lies in the parishes of Bray and Cookham" (1 *Ed. Rept.* 1819, 84).

³ At Stanwell Middlesex, the lord of the manor appointed the schoolmaster (9 *Ed. Rept.* 1823, 318 [1622]).

⁴ In 1628, at Dorchester, "It is agreed that henceforth there shall be paid to the school-master of the said new school [founded in Holy Trinity Parish] 12*d*, every quarter for every poor child of the three parishes of this borough that shall be placed at school with him by the overseers of the poor . . . to be paid by the overseers every one of them for the poor of their own parish" (29 *Ed. Rept.* 1835, 15).

⁵ At Edmonton, Middlesex, in 1606, an endowment was left "for freeing the scholars of so many poor boys, as the justices and churchwardens, with the overseers of the poor, shall agree for with the school-master" (9 *Ed. Rept.* 1823 [1606]).

was not as highly developed as that for their support, and that public opinion would not uphold such a plan for national compulsion as that involved in the poor law of 1601. In part this was due to the fact that the needs of the situation, as far as the more powerful elements in the population were concerned, seemed fairly well met. In most parishes the scholars' bell summoned the children of all who could pay to the daily lesson; in a large number of them it summoned also all children whom their parents judged could be spared from home, whose tuition was provided for by reason of old endowments or by special charity or by parochial care.

It is apart from the purpose of the article to point out the connection of such plans as that for the reservation of lands in Ulster with the similar early and continued practice in the United States, or of the corporate generosity of the London merchants with that of the early colonizing companies. More significant and more important are the signs of a dawning consciousness of community responsibility. It is evident that though public opinion was not ready, under English conditions, to assume the burden of granting universal opportunity by a national system of compulsory support, much less that of making the acceptance of this opportunity itself compulsory, nevertheless the feeling was developing that, in the absence of other means, the local unit was responsible for providing the opportunity by its own initiative and that the unit upon which this responsibility logically rested was that of which the control was most responsive to the popular will, the parish. Nor was there any objection to this on the ground of confusing secular and religious functions. The idea of free education in cases of necessity, was in the air, but not that of separation of church and state.⁴

It did not, therefore, seem strange to the inhabitants of the more vigorous daughter of the parish, the New England town, that in a country where private endowments could not be counted upon, and where public land endowments brought in little or no return, the town should be required to see to it that a schoolhouse be provided, a schoolmaster encouraged to engage in the work, and the children of the poor be educated at town expense.

⁴ Note also the importance of the cathedral and other choir schools; see *Documents Illustrating Early Education in Worcester, 685 to 1700* (edited by A. F. Leach), Worcester Historical Society, 1913.